

Message Text

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S E C R E T USUN 3382

NODIS/CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, GR, TU

SUBJECT: GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

REF: USUN 3377

1. RICHARD AND I MET TOGETHER THIS MORNING ON HIS INITIATIVE TO REVIEW YESTERDAY'S EVENTS AND FOR A LOOK AT OUR PRESENT POSITION AND PROSPECTS. MEANWHILE, TURKS APPROACHED BRITISH EARLIER THIS MORNING WITH REMARKABLY SIMILAR GAMBIT TO YESTERDAY MORNING, I.E. LOWER RANKING TURKISH OFFICER SUGGESTING THAT IF CERTAIN CHANGES TO FOUR-POWER WORKING PAPER (REFTEL) COULD BE NEGOTIATED WITH GREEKS, THEN TURKMEN WOULD HOPEFULLY BE ABLE TO GET FM CAGLAYANGIL TO AGREE TO ACCEPT RESOLUTION PROPOSED CHANGES CARRIED BELOW. RICHARD SAID HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO TRY TO GET GREEK AGREEMENT TO THESE CHANGES, BUT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO GO TO GREEKS WITHOUT MORE DEFINITE UNDERTAKING BY TURKS. WE AGREED THAT FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS STILL REMAIN ON BOTH SIDES AS NUB OF CONTROVERSY:

1. TURKISH INSISTENCE THAT GREEKS MUST WITHDRAW RATHER THAN SUSPEND ICJ CASE, COUPLED WITH THEIR DISTASTE FOR NSC RESOLUTION AND;

2. GREEK INSISTENCE WITH RESPECT TO SISMIK MOVEMENTS.

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2. INFORMAL SC CONSULTATIONS NOW SEEM INEVITABLE FOR AUGUST

23, AND SC PRESIDENT ABE HAS TENTATIVELY SET 3:30 P.M. RICHARD HAS CALLED MEETING OF OUR FOUR-POWER GROUP FOR 10:00 A.M. BOTH HE AND VINCI (ITALY) REMAIN FIRMLY OF THE OPINION THAT GREEKS MUST HAVE A RESOLUTION TO TAKE HOME. RICHARD SAYS HE WOULD RECOMMEND TO LONDON THAT UK CO-SPONSOR FOUR-POWER RESOLUTION ON BASIS DRAFT TRANSMITTED USUN 3377, PROVIDED HE CAN GET GREEK ACCEPTANCE OF LATEST TURKISH CHANGES. IN THAT CASE, HE REASONS, HE WOULD HAVE DONE EVERYTHING REASONABLE TO MEET TURKISH NEEDS AND WOULD GO AHEAD WITH OR WITHOUT TURKISH CONCURRENCE.

3. HE HAS NOT DECIDED WHETHER TO RECOMMEND SPONSORSHIP TO LONDON IN EVENT GREEKS TURN HIM DOWN. IN THAT EVENT, HE RATHER FAVORS PUTTING IN THE RESOLUTION WITH THE CHANGES ON THE GROUNDS THAT PASSING A RESOLUTION TO WHICH BOTH GREEKS AND TURKEY HAVE SOME OBJECTIONS WOULD BE EVIDENCE OF SC IMPARTIALITY AND WOULD BE BETTER THAN PASSING A RESOLUTION WHICH GREEKS ACCEPT BUT WHICH TURKS WOULD DENOUNCE. I HAD EARLIER AGRUED FUTILITY, AND POSSIBLE WORSE CONSEQUENCES, OF HAVING COUNCIL ADOPT A RESOLUTION WHICH WE KNEW BEFOREHAND TURKS WOULD NOT ACCEPT. IN THAT EVENT, WE WOULD HAVE FAILED IN OUR PRIMARY GOAL OF GETTING THE TWO PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE, AND WE MIGHT WELL BE WORSE OFF THAN IF WE PRODUCED NOTHING AT ALL. IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT FOUR-POWER DRAFT, EVEN WITH LATEST TURKISH PROPOSED CHANGES BUT WITHOUT CONCURRENCE OF THE TWO PARTIES, WOULD ATTRACT NECESSARY VOTES IN COUNCIL. IT WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY NOT DO SO IF WE AND BRITISH, AND POSSIBLE ITALIANS, FAILED TO BACK IT. IF THAT WERE THE OUTLOOK, BRITISH REASON THAT BITSIOS WOULD TURN AND WORK FOR CONSENSUS IN ORDER TO HAVE AT LEAST SOMETHING TO CARRY HOME. WE WOULD, OF COURSE, HAVE THE SAME SORT OF PROBLEMS IN WORKING OUT CONSENSUS LANGUAGE THAT BESET US NOW.

4. THE FRENCH HAVE BEEN PRESSING BRITISH FOR A FOUR-POWER MEETING TODAY, SUNDAY, OBVIOUSLY WITH PURPOSE OF PUSHING TO INTRODUCE CURRENT DRAFT IN COUNCIL TOMORROW. RICHARD HAS PUT THEM OFF, AND I ENCOURAGED HIM, WE FOUR WILL BE MEETING AGAIN AT 10:00 A.M. TOMORROW AT BRITISH MISSION.

5. FOLLOWING REPRESENT CHANGES PROPOSED THIS MORNING BY
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TURKS TO FOUR-POWER DRAFT OF AUGUST 20, TRANSMITTED IN USUN 3377:

A. PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH 6: INSERT WORD "THE" BETWEEN "FOR" AND PARTIES" AND ELIMINATE "TO A DISPUTE WHICH MIGHT ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY." FIRST PORTION OF PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH 6 WOULD THEN READ, "CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED FOR THE PARTIES BOTH TO RESPECT EACH OTHER'S..."

B. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 2: MAKE TENSION PLURAL SO THAT IT WOULD READ, "THE PRESENT TENSIONS IN THE AREA.." REPLACE WORDS "RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS" WITH "NEGOTIATING PROCESS."

C. REWRITE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 4 TO READ AS FOLLOWS:
"INVITES THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY IN THIS RESPECT TO CONTINUE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE CONTRIBUTION THAT APPROPRIATE JUDICIAL MEANS, IN PARTICULAR THE ICJ, ARE QUALIFIED TO MAKE TO THE SETTLEMENT OF ANY REMAINING LEGAL DIFFERENCES WHICH TOGETHER THEY MAY IDENTIFY IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESENT DISPUTE."

D. THERE WOULD BE NO REORDERING OF OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS, AND REWRITTEN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 4 WOULD REMAIN WHERE IT IS.

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